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MARGINALIA

BY JOHN C. ROLFE

1. ON JUVENAL, 10. 150

In the phrase "ad Aethiopum populos aliosque elephantos" the words "alios elephantos" are universally explained, so far as my observation extends, as referring to the elephants of northwestern Africa, in contrast with those of the far southeast and of India. Mayor read *altosque* with P, a reading which makes good sense, although the epithet is somewhat otiose, and is also palaeographically easy; the same variation between *altis* and *aliis* occurs in Sallust, *Jug.* 92. 7. But in Juvenal *altos* has less authority than *alios* because of Priscian's quotation (ii. 217. 16 K) and the gloss "praeter Indicos" in P, and the reading is generally rejected by recent editors of Juvenal.

The current explanation of *alios*, which goes back at least as far as the seventeenth century (not to mention the gloss) is ingenious but farfetched. A much simpler and more natural one may be found in a common use of *alius* in Latin. Thus in Caesar, *B. G.* 1. 41. 4 we find: "itinere exquisito per Diviciacum, quod ex aliis ei maximam fidem habebat," where Meusel's adoption of Ciaccius' *Gallis* is needless in the light of the following examples: Verg. *Aen.* 6. 411, "inde alias animas quae per iuga longa sedebant Deturbat"; Sall. *Jug.* 60. 6, "lapides, ignem, aliaque praeterea tela ingerunt"; Livy 4. 41. 8, "plaustra iumentaque alia"; Apul. *Met.* 10. 18, "equis Thessalicis et aliis iumentis Gallicanis." An instance of the same usage in colloquial English appears in a quotation in the *Literary Digest* for May 3, 1919, p. 73, "but Mr. Kirby . . . and Mr. Kresge . . . and Mr. Woolworth would always be ready to batter up anyone who dared to say that one of them was the greatest of the other three."

In the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* examples of this class are given with the caption, "Liberiore ratione interdum iis substantivis (*alius*) additur, quae neque ut synonyma, neque ut notiones generales *aliis* opponuntur; de qua re cf. Kühner, Gram. II, p. 478, not. 17." From the latter source we may add Livy 5. 39. 3, "exploratoribus

missis circa moenia aliasque portas," and as an example of the same usage in Greek, Xen. *Anab.* 1. 5. 5, οὐ γὰρ ἦν χωρτὸς οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον. Neither the Thesaurus nor Kühner includes the example from Juvenal. If it should be objected that the connection between Ethiopians and elephants is less close than that between walls and gates or between grass and trees, I should be inclined to question the validity of the objection. If I am wrong in this, it is certainly easier to assume that Juvenal is led to exaggerate the resemblance as a bit of humor than it is to adopt the desperate explanation based upon the two varieties of elephants. For my own part, I should even prefer to read *altos*.

Because of this use of *alius* it is sometimes best not to include the word in an English rendering. Thus "other" is clearly out of place in a translation of Sallust, *Jug.* 4. 1, "ceterum ex aliis negotiis quae ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum."

2. *Ad numerum*, SUET. *Vesp.* 20

The passage in which this phrase occurs reads in full as follows: "Valetudine prosperrima usus est, quamvis ad tuendam eam nihil amplius quam fauces ceteraque membra sibimet ad numerum in sphaeristerio defricaret inediāque unius diei per singulas menses interponeret." In this sensible regimen of the hard-headed old Sabine emperor "ad numerum" is translated by Stahr by "taktmässig," which I take to mean "rhythmically." Holland, however, renders it more correctly, in my opinion, with the words "to a certaine just number." The Baumgarten-Crusius commentary agrees with Holland, citing Celsus, 2. 14 (p. 60, l. 5 D.), "Neque audiendi sunt qui numero finiunt quotiens aliquis perfricandus sit. Id enim ex viribus hominis colligendum est. Et si is perinfirmitus est, potest satis esse quinquagies; si robustior, potest ducenties; inter utrumque deinde, prout vires sunt."

The giant article AD in the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* apparently has formulae with *numerum* in two places. In I. 517. 36 ff. the examples, for the most part containing numerals, mean "to the number," "to the number of," "according to the number," and the like; for example, Caes. *B. G.* 1. 15. 1, "equitatum omnem ad numerum quattuor milium." There is a slightly different force in Cic. *Verr.* 6. 73, "in eorum locum et ad eorum numerum cives Romani hostilem in modum cruciati et necati," and in Caec. ap.

Cic. *Epist.* 8. 8. 8, "si ex eo numero quos ex s. c. in provincias ire oporteret ad numerum non essent, qui in eas provincias proficierentur . . ."; but on the whole the general meaning is the same in all these instances. On the contrary, in I. 550. 66 ff. we have a jumble of citations, of which the first two and the last (*ad numeros*) have the meaning "rhythmically"; those between have quite a different force and for the most part belong more properly in the list on p. 517. For example, Caes. *B. G.* 5. 20. 4, "illi obsides ad numerum frumentumque miserunt"; Ovid, *Fast.* 3. 532, "annosque precantur Quot sumant cyathos, ad numerumque bunt." The two examples in which "ad numerum" means "rhythmically" are as follows: Cic. *Brut.* 33, "quaedam ad numerum conclusio"; Sen. *Dial.* 9. 17. 4, "Scipio triumphale illud corpus movit ad numerum."

The passages contained in the two lists, taken together, testify to the existence of a phrase "ad numerum" meaning "rhythmically," and of a similar phrase with the general meaning of "according to a (the) number." The former meaning is also expressed by "ad numeros." The very interesting instance in Suet. *Vesp.* 20 is not included by the Thesaurus in either list, perhaps because a complete record is not presented in the case of writers later than Tacitus. Besides "ad numerum" we have "in numerum" in the sense of rhythmically; for example, in Verg. *Georg.* 4. 174 f., "Illi inter esse magna vi bracchia tollunt In numerum." This phrase occurs also in Lucretius, 2. 631 (of the Curetes) "armis Ludunt in numerumque exultant sanguine laeti." In his note on this passage of Lucretius Professor Merrill cites a number of parallels: Verg. *Ecl.* 6. 27, Luer. 2. 637 and 4. 769, Pers. 5. 123 (*ad numeros*). His reference to Lucan 2. 111, however, is out of place. The passage reads "in numerum pars magna perit" and seems to be explained correctly by Francken, in connection with "nos numeri sumus" of Horace, *Epist.* 1. 2. 27, as meaning "sic ut numerentur eorum corpora, non singuli laudentur."

We thus have three distinct phrases: "ad numeros," which seems always to mean "rhythmically"; "in numerum," which commonly has that force but clearly has a different meaning in Lucan 2. 111; and "ad numerum," which has either the meaning "rhythmically" or that of "to a (the) number." Suetonius uses only the last of the three formulas, and that only in *Vesp.* 20,

so that no conclusion can be based upon his usage. Since in both the examples given above "ad numerum" is used of verbal rhythm, while "in numerum" or "ad numeros" is used of music, dancing, and the like, it seems natural to translate "ad numerum" in Suetonius by "a certain number of times."

3. THE RELATION OF CONTEXT TO MEANING—*prorsus*

That a writer does not always use the same word in the same sense, even in passages which are not widely separated, would be too obvious to mention, were it not that the fact is sometimes overlooked. In Sallust *Cat.* 14. 2, for instance, we read: "quicumque impudicus, ganeo, aleator manu, ventre, pene bona patria laceraverat." This version of the text follows Wölfflin's conjecture for "impudicus, adulter, ganeo" of the manuscripts, but the change does not affect the point under discussion. Here *manu* seems to have reference to gaming; in the words of Jacobs it is "das Werkzeug des Würfelspiels." In any case, it has the literal meaning of "hand." In 14. 3 we find: "ad hoc quos manus atque lingua periurio aut sanguine civili alebat." Here *manus* means "violence" or "murder"; again to quote Jacobs, "anders als § 2, aus dem folgenden sanguine zu erklären." Another example is to be found in Horace, *Epist.* 1. 7, where in v. 45 we have "vacuum" used in a figurative sense and in v. 50 literally; but it is superfluous to multiply instances of so obvious a phenomenon.

The effect exerted on the meaning of a word by the context and by its position in the sentence is well illustrated by the different significations of *prorsus* (*prorsum*). Its earliest and literal meaning is "straight forward (pro vorsus)." This meaning, if we may trust our lexicons, is confined to ante-classical and post-classical Latin: e. g. Plaut. *Pers.* 677, "simulato quasi eas prorsum in nauem"; Gell. 16. 19. 17, "tum Arionem prorsus ex eo loco Corinthum petivisse."

A second meaning of *prorsus* is an intensive one, "very, exceedingly, absolutely." The somewhat violent transition from the earlier signification is made easier by such sentences as Plaut. fr. ap. Charis. 1. 211. 33 K., "ita sunt praedones, prorsum parcunt nemini"; Cic. *ad Att.* 13. 45. 1, "prorsus ex his litteris non videbatur esse dubium. . ." The fully developed meaning is illustrated by Sallust, *Cat.* 16. 5, "tranquillaeque res omnes, sed ea

prorsus opportuna Catilinae"; Gell. 18. 2. 1, "Saturnalia Athenis agitabamus hilare prorsum ac modeste."

Prorsus has also the third meaning of "in short, in a word." This is the favorite use of the word by Sallust, from whom the lexicons take all their examples. Lejay, however, on Hor. *Serm.* 1. 5. 70, says that it is also a usage of Quintus Curtius. Thus in Sallust, *Cat.* 15. 5, following a series of statements, we read: "prorsus in facie voltuque vecordia inerat"; and in 23. 2, under similar conditions, "prorsus neque dicere neque facere quicquam pensi habebat." In poetry *prorsus* seems to occur only in the passage from Horace's "musa pedestris" which is quoted above (Lejay notes that the word is avoided by poets) and in Plautus. The prose writers who use it are such as to suggest that the word belonged to the colloquial language.

It is evident from what has been said that the meaning of *prorsus* is not always obvious, and it is sometimes matter of dispute. In the greater number of instances, however, the signification is made clear by the context, as follows:

1. If (a) *prorsus* stands first in its sentence or clause, (b) preceded by a series of statements, and (c) not immediately followed, or preceded, by a word capable of comparison, the meaning "in short" seems certain, as in Sall. *Cat.* 23. 2.

2. If *prorsus* (a) does not stand first in its sentence or clause, (b) if there is no preceding enumeration of particulars, and (c) if it is immediately followed, or preceded, by a word capable of comparison, the meaning "very" is the natural one, as in Cic. *Epist.* 6. 20. 2, "hoc mihi prorsus valde placet"; Sall. *Cat.* 15. 5.

We have remaining a surprisingly large number of examples which can be included, for one reason or another, in neither of these two classes, and where the meaning is consequently uncertain. A good example is to be found in Hor. *Serm.* 1. 5. 70, "prorsus iucunde cenam produximus illam," where many editors take *prorsus* with *iucunde*, but where Lejay prefers the meaning "in short." This state of affairs incidentally illustrates a point which sometimes strikes one in reading Latin; namely, that the writers frequently seem to take no pains, as do the more careful among writers of English, to avoid ambiguity by a shift in the word order. This is doubtless due to consciousness of the intonation of the spoken sentence, which would make the meaning clear. It is also evident, and has been noticed to some extent, that Roman writers

not infrequently made deliberate use of the possibility of a two-fold meaning, in order to suggest both significations, a variety of the so-called *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* construction.¹ In view of the large number of examples of *prorsus* in which the meaning is uncertain, one is tempted to make a third class based upon the *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* construction, including those instances in which *prorsus* stands first (1 a), preceded by a series of statements (1 b), and immediately followed, or preceded, by a word susceptible of comparison (2 c). Thus the example from Horace might well be rendered: "In short, we prolonged that dinner-party very pleasantly."

The *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* construction seems to be present in a passage of Sallust where the syntax is unusual, and to throw light upon the construction. In *Cat.* 35. 2. we read in Catiline's letter to Catulus; "satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi." Here "conscientia de culpa" has naturally troubled the commentators, because the construction is not only unique in Sallust, but is rare until late Latin. The suggestion has been offered that Sallust was making an attempt to represent the style of Catiline, but the only other alleged instance of such an attempt, the repetition of the relative in Caesar's speech (*Cat.* 51. 40) is not a convincing one, and besides we know little or nothing about Catiline's style. It seems much more probable that *de culpa* is to be taken both with *conscientia* and with "satisfactionem proponere." The latter phrase is identical in meaning with *satisfacere*, which regularly governs *de* and the ablative.

5. *Incendium meum*, SALL. *Cat.* 31. 9

After Cicero had delivered his first Oration against Catiline, and the conspirator's attempt to reply had been shouted down, the latter cried: "quoniam quidem circumventus ab inimicis praeceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam," and rushed out of the senate-house. Here "meum" may be either objective or subjective, and curiously enough it is understood differently by two Roman writers. Valerius Maximus, 9. 11. 3 says: "L. vero Catilina in senatu M. Cicerone incendium ab ipso excitatum dicente, 'Sentio,' inquit, 'et quidem illud, si aqua non potuero, ruina restinguam.'" Here it is obvious from the words "ab ipso exci-

¹ For examples see my edition of the Satires and Epistles of Horace, Introd. § 42.

tatum" that Valerius takes *incendium* to refer to a fire which Catiline had himself kindled. Cicero, however, in *pro Mur.* 51, has these words: "Cum ille (Catilina) Catoni . . . respondisset, si quod esset in suas fortunas incendium excitatum, id se non aqua sed ruina extincturum." Here, on the contrary, "in suas fortunas excitatum" shows with equal clearness that Cicero understood the fire to be one which threatened Catiline's fortune, and which therefore he obviously did not kindle himself. Inasmuch as Cicero was present when Catiline's words were spoken, it seems natural to conclude that he is right. This is also indicated by the logic of the situation, since Catiline would not put out a fire which he himself had kindled, while he would resort to desperate expedients to extinguish one which threatened his own fortune. Incidentally we see that interpretations based upon the words of later writers may sometimes be incorrect. If the passage from Cicero had not survived, we should naturally follow Valerius, as in fact is done by some commentators, who seem to have overlooked the other reference.

It will be noted that Valerius and Sallust use the verb *restinguo*, while Cicero has *extinguo*, and that Sallust does not have the phrase "non aqua sed," which is given both by Cicero and by Valerius; and it is interesting to speculate as to what Catiline's actual words were. In the second case one would naturally incline to the belief that Sallust quoted the more accurately since the addition of "non aqua sed" makes a much less rhetorical and vigorous sentence, and rings more like the explanation of a commentator than the utterance of an excited speaker. Inasmuch as the use of *restinguo* with *ruinam* makes an alliteration which is somewhat artificial, Catiline's own words may have been "incendium meum ruina extinguan"; but Cicero more commonly uses *restinguo* in the literal signification of "put out," and *extinguo* figuratively.

6. SUET. *Aug.* 98. 4 AND THE PARTITIVE USE OF ADJECTIVES

The words "vicinam Capreis insulam" have caused the critics considerable difficulty, but Professor McDaniel, in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* xlv. 29 ff., has made it highly probable that they are to be taken in the most obvious and natural way, and that the "island near Capri" was Monacone. In speaking of the translations "the neighboring island of Capri" and "the neighboring

part of the island of Capri" he rightly rejects the parallels cited by Schuckburgh in his note on the passage, "Cassius in oppido Antiochiae" (*Cic. ad Att.* 5. 18) and "Albae constiterunt in urbe opportuno" (*Cic. Phil.* 4. 6). These constructions are not in the least parallel; Schuckburgh's "insulam Capris" in "a XII century catalogue of Papal estates (*Gregorovius, Hist. of Rome in the Middle Ages*, II, p. 247, Eng. trans.)" seems to be an exact parallel, but great as is my reluctance to abandon "the neighboring part of the island of Capri," I can hardly regard this twelfth century usage as convincing evidence for a similar construction in Suetonius. One might as well go back to the remote past, and find a parallel in the transfer of the locative to the nominative plural in such plural place-names as *Athenae*, *Gabii*, and the like.

Professor McDaniel is also right in his citation of Lane's *Latin Grammar*, 1249, for the limited use of adjectives in a partitive sense; but both Lane's Grammar and all the others which I have been able to consult confine this use of the adjective within far too narrow limits. In support of a partitive use of *vicinam* we may cite "frigidus annus, the cold part of the year," in *Verg. Aen.* 6. 311: "pomifer annus, the fruit-bearing part of the year," in Horace, *Odes*, 3. 23. 8, and *hibernus annus* in *Epod.* 2. 29. Still more striking are "diversa per litora diffugint," *Aen.* 5. 676, and "diversa petit aquora," *id.* 12. 742. If it be objected that these merely show poetic usage, we may retort with Sallust, *Jug.* 35. 9, "in priore actione, in the first part of the trial," while *Jug.* 107. 1, "nudum et caecum corpus, the unprotected and blind part of the body," would seem to indicate that any adjective whatsoever might on occasion be used in a partitive sense in Latin.

In some cases this partitive use has been overlooked, as for example in *Aen.* 1. 26, "manet alta mente repostum," where I have the more confidence in the translation "in the depths of her heart" because my colleague Professor Kent and I arrived at it independently. "Deep in her heart" (*L. C. L.*) is not quite the same, I think; at any rate, it does not suggest the original partitive force of the phrase.

7. ON HORACE, *Serm.* 2. 6. 108 f.

In his description of the banquet given to his guest by the town mouse Horace says:

nec non verniliter ipis
fungitur officiis, praelambens omne quod adfert.

The interpretation of this passage which makes the host act as a *praegustator* was rejected by Palmer in his edition of the Satires, both as the less humorous one and because he found no reference to *praegustatores* at so early a period. He further says that the practice (*praegustandi*) never became common among the Romans, and that this interpretation does not suit *ipsis*; he might have added that *verniliter* also loses its force. Recently however Lejay, in his edition of the Satires, has returned to this explanation and supports it by quoting Pliny, *N. H.* 21. 12, "in apparatu belli Actiaci gratificationem ipsius reginae (*sc.* Cleopatrae) Antonio timente nec nisi *praegustatos cibos sumente*," as well as C. I. L. VI. 9005 (= Dessau 1795), "Genio Coeti Herodian. *praegustator*. divii (*sic*) Augusti, etc." Lejay differs from Dessau in giving the name, in his commentary, as Coetus Herodianus, instead of Coetus, and in dating the inscription in 22 A. D., instead of in 43. Just what he means by calling the duty of the *praegustator* "un des officia vernilia" is not quite clear.

While the second of these two references of Lejay seems to establish the existence of a *praegustator* in the household of Augustus, it can hardly be regarded as evidence of the presence of such an official in private Roman families as early as 30 B. C.; the *praegustator*, however, seems to have become a regular official of the imperial household in the time of Claudius, according to Suet. *Claud.* 44. 2. The passage from Pliny, dealing as it does with the court of Cleopatra, can not be considered significant of Roman usage at that period. According to Xenophon, *Cyrop.* 1. 3. 9, who is the first of the Greeks to refer to the custom, *praegustatio* was current among the Persians, not merely to guard against poisoning, but to determine whether the food and drink were properly cooked and seasoned. Cf. Justinus, 12. 14, "Philippus et Iollas, *praegustare et temperare regis potum soliti*." Athenaeus, 4. 71, tells us that the habit came to the Greeks from Persia, and Kiessling suggests that it made its way to Rome by way of Egypt.

A stronger, indeed the strongest, objection to this interpretation is that it lacks the fine humor of the other, which represents the town mouse, in spite of his desire to impress his country-bred guest, as acting like a spoiled house-slave, who was unable to resist the

temptation to take a stealthy nibble at the dainties which he was serving. This too makes a striking contrast with the conduct of the country mouse, who fed upon common food and left the luxuries to his guest (see vv. 88 ff.).

Bentley, who apparently favors the interpretation revived by Lejay, wished to read *praelibans*, instead of *praelambens*, on the ground that the former alone described the office of the *praegustator*, which was open and public, while *praelambens* denoted a stealthy action, as in Juvenal 9. 5, "nos colaphum incutimus lambenti crustula servo"; cf. Mayor on Juv. 1. 70. As usual, Bentley's feeling for the force of words is keen and correct, but he unintentionally gives us another argument for the opposite interpretation. Naturally the preliminary tasting of the dainties by the town mouse was done stealthily, as he brought them in, and not in the presence of his guest. On the contrary, if he had been trying to give an impression of the grandeur of his establishment by acting as a *praegustator* (a service, by the way, which his simple-minded guest would have been likely to misunderstand), his action would have been open and even ostentatious. It is quite true that *praelambens* does not occur elsewhere until late Latin, but it is appropriate to a mouse, as Lejay notes, and Horace, although he was "in verbis . . . tenuis cautusque serendis," did not entirely eschew novelties in diction.

8. LETHE

The usual meaning of Lethe is "a river in Hades, the water of which produced in those who drank it forgetfulness of the past." This meaning, however, does not suit Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, iii. 1. 206, where Mark Antony says of the fallen dictator:

Here wast thou bay'd, brave hart,
Here didst thou fall, and here thy hunters stand,
Sign'd in thy spoil and crimson'd in thy lethe.

Here the *Oxford Dictionary* rightly takes "lethe" to mean "death," citing it as the only instance in English of that meaning of the word. Of the editors of *Julius Caesar*, some take "lethe" in the sense of "death," while others attempt to give it a significance more nearly in accord with the usual connotation of the word in English. So, for example, W. J. Rolfe: "crimsoned in the stream which bears thee to oblivion; alluding to the classical

Lete." It may be noted that Shakespeare uses the word in its original and common meaning in *Hamlet*, i. 5. 33 ff.:

And duller shouldst thou be than the fat weed
That roots itself in ease on Lethe wharf,
Shouldst thou not stir in this.

The *Oxford Dictionary* seems inclined to make "lethe, death" a different word, derived from the late Latin *lethum* (classical *letum*), from which comes the adjective "lethal." As will appear, I think, this is not necessary, although it is of course possible. Blount in his Glossary (1670) defines the adjective "Lethaeian" as "deadly, mortal, pestiferous."

The Greek word λήθη, meaning "forgetfulness" occurs also in personifications, and after the time of Homer there is frequent mention of a place of oblivion in the nether world, variously referred to as λήθης δόμοι (Anth. Pal. 7. 25), λήθης λαμῆν (id. 7. 498), τὸ λήθης πεδίον (Arist. *Ranae*, 186; Plato, *Rep.* 621 A.), λήθης ὄδωρ (Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 13. 6, cf. *de Luct.* 5). A river of Lusitania was called by some ὁ τῆς λήθης ποταμός (Strabo, 3. 3. 4) but by others the Limaea (Appian, *Hisp.* 71). No river, however, was called Λήθη by the ancient Greeks. According to Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (on Eur. *Heracl.* II². 96. 1) the name as applied to a place in the lower world meant "the hidden or concealed place," and not one which caused forgetfulness; and Norden, in his note on Verg. *Aen.* 6. 705, calls attention to the pains which Vergil has taken to emphasize this feature of the "Lethaeum amnem" by locating it in a secluded vale, overgrown with forests.

The myth of Lethe's stream seems to appear first in Plato, *Rep.* 621 C, τὸν τῆς Λήθης ποταμὸν εὖ διαβησόμεθα. Its first appearance in Latin may be in Catullus, 65. 5:

Namque mei nuper Lethaeo gurgite fratri
pallidulum manans alluit unda pedem.

Harper's *Latin Lexicon* (Lewis and Short) defines *Lethe* only as "the river of forgetfulness," but the word is frequently used simply of death in Latin. This secondary meaning doubtless took its beginning from the frequent references in the Roman poets to Lethe as the stream across which Charon ferried the dead, a confusion of the rivers of the lower world which is not confined to the Lethe. Shakespeare's reference to "Lethe wharf" in the

passage from Hamlet which is quoted above seems to be due to this same confusion, while the "fat weed which roots itself at ease" is suggestive of the earlier meaning of the word Lethe.

Of the numerous passages in Latin literature in which Lethe and Acheron are confounded a few will suffice for illustration; for example, Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 781:

sedit at gravior ratis
utrimque Lethen latere titubanti bibit.

Cf. Tibullus, 3. 3. 10 (Lydgamus):

nudus Laethaea cogerer ire rate?

And id. 3. 5. 24:

Lethaeamque ratem Cimmeriosque lacus.

Also Statius, *Silv.* 5. 1. 161, *Theb.* 4. 622.

From this the transition to the meaning "lower world" and "death" is easy, as in the following examples: Horace, *Odes*, 4. 7. 27:

nec Laethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro
vincula Pirithoo.

Valerius Flaccus, *Argonaut.* 2. 481:

Huic manus amplexus inter planctusque parentum
deditur; hoc sortes, hoc corniger imperat Hammon
virgineam damnare animam, sortitaque Lethen
corpora.

In Statius, *Silv.* 2. 7. 101, "iussus praecipitem subire Lethen," the change of meaning is complete, as is shown by the use of an adjective wholly unsuited to the gentle river of oblivion.

It seems beyond question that the Roman poets confused the original meaning of Lethe to an extent which makes its use in English in the sense of "death" a perfectly natural one. It is perhaps noteworthy that Claudian, by birth an Alexandrine Greek and a close follower of the writers of the Golden and the Silver ages, does not give Lethe the sense of "death," although he does refer to a river Lethe in 5. 492, in 33. 282, and in 35. 305, while he uses Lethaeus as a general epithet of the lower world in *Carm. Min.* 53. 46, "rex ipse silentum Lethaeo vehitur curru." In the following passage (5. 491 ff.) his conception of the stream is very similar to that of Vergil:

Quos ubi per varias annis ter mille figuras
egit, Lethaeo purgatos flumine tandem
rursus ad humanae revocat primordia formae.

8. SOME NAUTICAL TERMS IN LATIN

An interest of some standing in the nautical language of the ancients has led me to think that in our translation of sea terms there may be two sources of confusion. First, our interpretation may be based upon the rigging of our own sailing vessels, in particular those of the so-called "fore and aft" rig; and secondly, we may confuse the Homeric ship with those of later Greek and Roman times. The latter is done by the Latin writers themselves, who often apply to vessels of the Heroic Age language which is unsuited to the small and simply rigged "ship" of that period. For example Ovid, *Metam.* 3. 615:

Dictys ait, quo non aliis concendere summas
ocior antemnas prensoque rudenti relabi.

So too such terms for setting sail as are not indefinite as to method, like "vela dare," "vela facere," and the like, are more appropriate to the ships of later times than to the Homeric ship as it is generally conceived. Such are, for example, "vela (or carbasa) deducere" (Ovid, *Metam.* 3. 663, 6. 233, 11. 477) and "vela solvere" (Verg. *Aen.* 4. 574). The same thing is even more strikingly true of the terms used for shortening or furling sail, such as "velum antemnis subnectere" (Ovid, *Metam.* 11. 483) "vela subnectere malo" (Stat. *Theb.* 5. 408), "subducere carbasa" (Ovid, *Fasti*, 3. 587) etc. Out of a large collection of examples I have found but one in which the words used of setting sail seem to apply to a ship of the Heroic Age, namely Catull. 64. 235:

Candidaque intorti sustollant vela rudentes.

I have found none at all in which taking in sail is expressed by a word meaning "lower," "let down," or an equivalent, although in Greek *καθίέναι* is used both of setting and of taking in sail. See Breusing, *Die Nautik der Alten*, p. 64.

(a) *Vela cadunt*, Verg. *Aen.* 3. 207

This phrase seems at first to have been interpreted correctly as "the sails droop or flutter" (*detumescent*), on the basis of

Ovid, *Fasti* 3. 585 ff. *Cado* then would mean the opposite of *tumeo*, the choice of *cado* to express that idea being perhaps influenced by such expressions as "venti vis eccecidit," Livy 26. 39. 8. A second interpretation, which I find first in Dubner's edition, took *cadunt* as equivalent to "demissa panduntur," an explanation well suited to the rigging of the ancient ship, as conceived by the Latin poets, since "vela cadunt" expresses passively (from the point of view of the crew) what is expressed actively by "vela deducuntur." This interpretation, however, is not in all respects suited to the situation described by Vergil, nor is it in accord with the other examples of "vela cadere."

Finally the translation "down come the sails," meaning that they are lowered, an interpretation based upon the rigging of a modern sailboat and without parallel, I think, in Latin nautical language, all but completely displaced the other two. Upon the appearance of Volume III of the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* the addition of three other examples of "vela cadere" in the sense of "vela detumescunt" (Ovid, *Ars Amat.* 1. 373; Lucan, 5. 432; and *Corp. Gloss.* 4. 468. 28) seemed to settle the question as to the meaning of the phrase in favor of the earliest interpretation. Incidentally, it showed the important service which the great lexicon, in spite of some defects, will render by giving us fuller collections of examples than have hitherto been accessible, and makes it clear that the critical condition in which the enterprise apparently now finds itself is a matter of concern to scholars of all nationalities.

The translation of this phrase in the *Vergil* of the Loeb Classical Library, "the sails drop down," is rather ambiguous, unless it be a borrowing of Coleridge's version of "vela detumescunt" in the *Ancient Mariner*, ii. 6. In case it should be a return to the interpretation which was until recently the current one, I venture to add two more arguments against that meaning. One of these is the uniqueness of the term as one for lowering the sails, as has been explained with some fullness above. The second is based upon Val. Flacc. 2. 10 ff.:

vidisse putant Dolopeia busta
intrantemque Amyron curvas quae sita per oras
aequora, flumineo cuius redeuntia vento
vela legunt. Remis insurgitur.

While there is no doubt that parallels are often overworked, it

seems evident that Valerius here had *Aen.* 3. 207 in mind. At first though this might appear to be an argument for taking "vela cadunt" as equivalent to "vela legunt," but on reflection the reverse is seen to be true. The idea which Vergil expresses by "vela cadunt" has already been expressed by Valerius with the words "redeuntia vento, taken aback." Then wishing to say that the Argonauts took in sail, he substituted for Vergil's "vela cadunt," which he would probably have retained, if it had had that meaning, the regular term "vela legunt," which has the same metrical value.

(b) *Laxare rudentes*, Verg. *Aen.* 3. 267

The explanation of these words and of the sentence in which they stand has passed through two stages. At first an interpretation was current, and was passed from commentator to commentator with but slight variation, which in the words of Heyne read as follows: "at rudentes excussi antemnarum evoluti sunt ad vela pandenda"; and in those of Benoist, "les cordages qui servent à tendre les voiles servent aussi à les attacher quand elles sont roulées." Later, this was displaced by another rendering, also passed on with little or no change from edition to edition, which in its fullest form is as follows: "The 'rudentes' here are the ropes fastened to the bottom of the sail at its two corners ('pedes'). Before setting sail these ropes, which our seamen call the sheets, would lie in a coil or bundle. In order therefore to depart, the first thing was to unroll or untie them, the next thing to adjust them according to the direction of the wind and the aim of the voyage. . . . 'Laxare rudentes' was equivalent to 'ease the sheets.'" (Conington). This reads suspiciously like the explanation of a modern yachtsman filtered through the brain of a Vergilian editor. It is obviously not suited to the ancient ship. The brief comment in Bennett's *Vergil*: "'Shake out and loosen'; i. e. to have the ropes free for hoisting sail" seems to be the same interpretation in a briefer form, although 'ropes' is indefinite and is perhaps to be understood of the halyards. But while to "shake out and loosen" the coil of the halyards would be a natural preliminary to lowering a fore and aft sail, it would not be natural in hoisting sail, provided Vergil anywhere had in mind such an action as hoisting sail; he nowhere mentions it.

Furthermore, loosening the sheets would not be a natural preliminary to setting a square sail; or even a fore and aft sail, if, as Breusing says (*op. cit.*, p. 58), one purpose of the sheets was "beim Aufheisen des Segels das Schlagen und Flattern deselben zu verhindern." Still another objection to giving *rudentes* the meaning "sheets" is that there is a technical term *pedes*, which seems to be used in all unquestioned references to the sheets, by poets as well as by prose writers. So, for example, Catullus, 4. 19:

sive utrumque Iuppiter
simul secundus incidisset in pedem.

Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5. 830:

Una omnes fecere pedem pariterque sinistros,
nunc dextros solvere sinus; una ardua torquent
cornua detorquentque.

The expression "fecere pedem" is apparently unique, since the *Thesaurus*, vi. 89. 30 gives only the one example. Forcellini explains it as follows: "Facere pedem est velum, extensis imis funibus, expandere ut ventum concipient." The *Vergil* of the *L. C. L.* translates the phrase by "all set the sheets," while the excellent *Handwörterbuch* of Stowasser, revised by Petschenig and Skutsch (which, however, is not very sound on nautical terms) renders it by "nur einen Tau spannen, mit halben Winde segeln." The *Thesaurus* gives the phrase in connection with "vela facere," a classification which does not throw much light upon its meaning. I should be inclined to class it with *facere* used with various *negotia* (*Thes.* vi. 95. 22 ff.), where we find "negotia bellica," etc., but not "negotia nautica." It would then mean "to work the sheet," or "to tack," as explained by the words "pariter . . . detorquent," which follow in the text of *Vergil*; cf. Papillon's *Vergil*, *l. c.* If I am right about this, the corresponding technical expression is "proferre pedem (pedes)" which is not much more frequent in our surviving literature, so far as our lexicons may be trusted. This occurs in Pliny, *N. H.* 2. 128, "iisdem autem ventis in contrarium navigatur, prolatis pedibus, ut noctu plerumque adversa vela concurrant." That is to say, by letting out the sheets (in the proper way) we may sail in opposite directions by means of the same wind, so that vessels holding contrary courses often run into each other at night. I have qualified Pliny's statement by

the words "in the proper way," since to sail "on the wind" with a square sail one sheet would be let out, while the other, or more strictly speaking the *ropes* at the other corner of the sail, would be taken forward and made fast. See Breusing's Plate I. In Latin, as often in Greek, the term *pedes* almost invariably includes both the *pes* and the *ropes*. See Breusing, p. 58 and Isidorus, *Orig.* 19. 4. 3, "ropes funis quo pes veli aligatur, quasi pro pedes" (*pes* is applied both to the corner of the sail and to the sheet). The expression "proferre pedem" is found also in Seneca, *Medea*, 322.

Because of this technical term *pes*, as well as for other reasons, I believe that the earlier editors of Vergil were right, and that "laxare rudentes" means "to loosen the brail-ropes," thus letting down and setting the previously furled sails. Besides *relaxare* we have *excutare* and *expedire* used with *rudentes*, all of which words have the general meaning of "loosen" or "let loose." Furthermore, in ships in which the sails were brailed up on the yards a necessary preliminary to sailing would be to "shake out" (*excutere*) or loosen the brail-ropes. In two passages of the *Aeneid* (3. 267 and 3. 682) "laxare rudentes" is followed by "tendunt vela noti" and "ventis intendere vela," and it is regularly a preliminary to setting sail. This interpretation of "laxare rudentes" seems to be supported by the variant "vela expedire" (= "rudentes excutere") in Ovid, *Heroid.* 17. 200:

Adde quod, ut cupias constans in amore manere,
non potes; expeditum iam tua vela Phryges;
dum loqueris mecum, dum nox sperata paratur,
qui ferat in patriam iam tibi ventus erit.

Cf. also Plaut. *Miles*, 1317, "orant te ut eas, ventus dum operam dat, ut velum explicent."

There are other indications, of a somewhat less obvious character, that *rudentes* refers to ropes other than the sheets, as in Catull. 64. 235 (quoted above). Whether or not *rudens* is connected with *rudo*, "roar" (cf. Isid. *Orig.* 19. 4. 1), the whistling and rattling of the *rudentes* is mentioned by Pacuvius, ap. Cic. *Epist.* 8. 2. 1, "rudentum sibilus," by Vergil, *Aen.* 1. 91, "stridor rudentum," and elsewhere. Kipling somewhere (I quote from memory) speaks of "the shouting of a backstay in the gale," but we can hardly imagine using such an expression of the sheets,

which from their position are less likely to whistle in the wind than the stays, the halyards, and the standing rigging generally.

Rudentes is also more readily understood of the brail-ropes than of the sheets in such passages as the following: Stat. *Theb.* 7. 139:

Sic litora vento
incipiente fremunt, fugitur cum portus; ubique
vela fluunt, laxi iacentur ubique rudentes.

Here we may note *laxi* (comparing *laxare*); the brail-ropes have been shaken out, to set the sail, and hang loose until they are made fast. Again Ovid, *ex Pont.* 4. 9. 73:

Et si quem dabit aura sinum, iactate rudentes,
exeat e Stygiis ut mea navis aquis.

The phrase "immittere rudentes" (or *funes*) seems to contradict some of the opinions expressed above, and requires special consideration. It is used to indicate haste, and is a purely metaphorical expression, a variation of "immittere habenas," which is also applied directly to ships, as in Verg. *Aen.* 6. 1, "sic fatur lacrimans classique immittit habenas." We have "velis immitte rudentis" in *Aen.* 10. 229, and the same phrase with *funes* in *Aen.* 8. 707:

Ipsa videbatur ventis regina vocatis
vela dare et laxas iamque immittere funis.

In these phrases if any particular "ropes" are in the mind of the user of the metaphor, they would in all probability be the sheets, since the steersman, who sits in the stern and tends the sails, might be likened to a driver and the sheets to the reins; cf. *Aen.* 10. 218, "ipse sedens clavumque regit velisque ministrat." But to suppose that the helmsman actually drives along the ship would be as absurd as the belief of Mark Twain's landlubber that the man at the wheel of a steamship was a part of her motive power. Moreover, although giving a horse loose rein makes him go the faster, casting loose the sheets does not have the same effect upon a ship. As has been said, "immittere rudentes" is a metaphorical expression, and to attempt to make it at all literal leads to difficulty at once. Hence the phrase is better translated by "give rein" or "reins," as in the *L. C. L.* on *Aen.* 6. 1, than by "fling loose the sheets," as by the same translator on *Aen.* 8. 707. That it is not necessary to have particular ropes in mind is shown by

such expressions as “furit immissis Volcanus habenis” (*Aen.* 5. 662) and “fluminibus vestris totas immittite habenas” (Ovid, *Met.* 1. 280). In neither of these passages is it natural to try to picture for the fire or for the rivers parallels to the reins of a horse; that we can so readily do so in the case of a ship (although, as has been seen, the correspondence is only partial) is purely accidental and should not mislead us as to the metaphorical nature of the expression. Just so, in *Aen.* 12. 6, “movet arma leo” means “a lion wakes to war” (*L. C. L.*) and any attempt to determine just what parts of the animal serve as *arma*, or correspond to the arms of a soldier, is surely a misguided one.

(c) *Vela legunt*, Claudian, 15 (*De Bell. Gild.*) 481

The passage above referred to, beginning at verse 479, reads as follows:

Ut fluctus tetigere maris, tunc acrior arsit
impetus; adripiunt navis ipsique rudentes
expediant et vela legunt et cornua summis
adsoecant malis; quatitur Tyrrhena tumultu
ora nec Alpheae capiunt navalia Pisae.

Here “rudentes expediant” and “cornua summis adsoecant malis” both suggest setting sail. The former has already been discussed at some length; as to the latter, it is well known that when full sail was carried the yard was hoisted high upon the mast; when sail was shortened, the yard was lowered. The two acts are mentioned together in Seneca, *Medea*, 326 ff.:

Nunc antemnae medio tutas
ponere malo,
nunc in summo religare loco,
cum iam totos avidus nimium
navita fatus optat.

Cf. also *Bell. Alex.* 45. 3, Ovid, *Metam.* 11. 482, Lucan, 9. 328.

But “vela legere” invariably has the meaning of “shorten sail” or “take in sail,” as in Verg. *Georg.* 1. 370 ff.:

At Boreae de parte trucis cum fulminat et cum
Eurique Zephyrique tonat domus, omnia plenis
rura natant fossis atque omnis navita ponto
umida vela legit.

Cf. Val. Flacc. 2. 13 (quoted above), Verg. *Aen.* 3. 531, Ovid, *Heroid.* 15. 215, where it is contrasted with "vela dare":

Ipse gubernabit residens in puppe Cupido;
ipse dabit tenera vela legetque manu.

In some other nautical expressions also *legere* has the general meaning of "take in," as in Val. Flacc. 1. 312:

Hi celso cornua malo
expediunt, alii tonsas in marmore summo
praetemptant, prora funem legit Argus ab alta.

Here the word is used of pulling in the anchor rope or hawser; cf. Seneca, *Troad.* 769, "ancoras classis legit." Another term occurs in Lucan, 3. 43:

Tunc obtulit hostia tellus
puppibus accessus facilis; legere rudentes
et posito remis petierunt littora malo.

Here the reference is to taking in the stays preparatory to lowering the mast. It might perhaps be maintained that *legere* could here be translated "loosen," and that if that signification were transferred to the passage of Claudian, it would give "vela legunt" the meaning "they set the sails." But not only is that a forcing of the meaning of *legere*, but it seems very improbable that Claudian, especially since he is so close a follower of the classical poets, would use the expression "vela legere" in a sense exactly opposite to that used by Vergil and Ovid. Rather than believe that, I should prefer to accept the reading which was generally adopted by the earlier editors of Claudian and has some slight manuscript authority; namely, *ligant*. This is palaeographically easy and may be explained as follows. The ships had been in port for some time and were not ready for sea. The first step then was to bend on the yards, with the sails furled upon them, making them fast high up on the mast since full sail was to be carried, and then to loosen the brail-ropes and set the sails. In the language of an early commentator: "Prius antemnae cum velis complicatis adligantur malis, deinde vela solvebantur et deducebantur." This reading perhaps receives additional support from *religare* in the passage from Seneca's *Medea* which is quoted above. The relation of "rudentes expediunt" to what follows is then a so-called hysteron proteron, which finds a parallel in *Bell. Alex.* 45. 3, "quod ubi

conspexit, celeriter vela subduci demittique antemnas iubet," since the yards were lowered before the sail was clewed up. Cf. Rich, *Dict. Ant.*, s. v. *velum*, and Ovid, *Metam.* 11. 482:

'Ardua iam dudum demittite cornua' rector
clamat, 'et antemnis totum subnectite velum.'

9. ANCIENT CAMOUFLAGE

Among the numerous parallels that during the Great War were drawn between ancient and modern warfare I have not happened to see a notice of the following passage (*Vegetius, Epit. Rei Mil.* 4. 37 Lang), which shows that camouflage was not unknown to the Romans: "ne exploratoriae naves candore prodantur, colore veneto, qui marinis est fluctibus similis, vela tinguntur et funes, cera etiam, qua ungere solent naves, inficitur."

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